848 girl, the girl's father takes over the child.
851 In the past, during the wars, the owner of a woman slave
[37] sometimes married her. The children of this marriage were considered legitimate and [37] had their fathers' status, even if he already had children from marriage with a munyarwanda wife.

Children born of the master and a woman slave were also considered legitimate.

## CHAPTER V. PATERNAL AUTHORITY

593 The patria potestas is exercised by the father. In the past it implied the right of life and death over his children. Today the father does not have such power, but his authority still remains sovereign and extends even over married sons. The latter must in particular, give him cows if he asks for any to increase his herds and to replace animals that are sick or have died.

A bad son can be cursed by his father and driven out of the family and even from the hill (igitshibwa or ikivume, the accursed one). He goes off with empty hands, and his brothers divide his property.

As a counterpart to his authority, the father is obligated to support his children and to establish his sons by paying the dowry.

The children must obey their mother as well as their father.
[604] Simiarly they must be deferential to their paternal uncles and aunts, and to a lesser degree, to their maternal uncles and aunts. Sisters must obey their brothers, and younger brothers, their older ones.

603 The loss of paternal authority does not exist as such. If the
604 father is unworthy or incapable, the grandfather or paternal uncle has charge of the children. [38]

## CHAPTER VI. TUTELAGE AND EMANCIPATION (1)

1. Cf. also, Inheritance, Guardianship of Children, p. 60.

429 When the father is dead, usually one of his brothers watches over the widow and orphans. In the absence of a paternal uncle, guardianship goes to a maternal uncle.

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obligation to pay the bride-wealth, she could exert further pressure on her brothers by not agreeing to the marriage; finally, she had the power to curse her nephews and nieces. All this accounted for the importance of her role in the inzu. Nieces and nephews very often turned to her and she was often said to love them more than her own children. This difference between FaBr's and FaSi's attitudes toward Ego is perhaps reflected in the terminology. FaBr referred to his nephew by the word *muhunguwacu* (our-boy) and to his niece by *mukobwawacu* (our-girl), whereas the FaSi referred to both of them by *musengenezawanjye* (my niece/nephew). This last word contains the possessive 'my' used in kinship terminology usually for only the primary relatives, whereas the term of reference used by the FaBr includes the form 'our' usually used for secondary or more distant relatives.

Between Ego and the members of the generations alternate to his own, there were symmetrical relations of great familiarity and joking, with a preponderant sexual theme. The grandfather called his granddaughters his little wives and his grandsons his love rivals. The reason given for this familiarity is that it helped to cheer up the old people and to train the young ones in socially enjoyable talk. Grandfathers also participated in the socialization of the grandchildren by transmitting proverbs, legends, tales of past history, and mythological conceptions in which a great deal of the Ruanda view of the world was embodied.

As regards siblings, Ego was expected to have a respectful attitude towards his eldest brother, *uwamboneye izuba* (the first who saw the sun) even if the latter happened not to inherit the paternal authority over his brothers. In these cases he was honoured more than his brother who wielded the paternal authority. The eldest brother's advice was always asked by his siblings. Other brothers were expected to assume what we would call fraternal attitudes. But as brothers competed for their father's favour and had to share his heritage, there was under this appearance of cordiality a very deep rivalry and mutual distrust. It should be noted that all that is said of siblings applied both to half paternal siblings and to full siblings. In a descent group founded on agnatic principles the distinction of full and half paternal siblings is largely irrelevant.

Sisters were also expected to respect and obey their oldest brother. After they had reached puberty, however, he could not enforce obedience. The oldest sister's role was somewhat similar

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Why did they not operate in the case of FaSi? As mother of Ego's paternal cross-cousins, with whom Ego could enjoy the same familiarities, she could have reacted in the same way. We have seen that, on the contrary, she was extremely cordial to her nephews. The only reason seems to be that her nephews belonged to her own lineage, whereas her daughters did not. Consequently she was less interested in bride-wealths, &c. Her husband (FaSiHu) probably reacted in the same way as MoBr.

The relations of Ego with his maternal aunt (MoSi) were supposed to be similar to his relations with his mother, but in fact great trust and affection did not often exist between them because of the usually tense relations of the aunt with Ego's mother, her sister. If, for instance, Ego's aunt's husband (MoSiHu) neglected his wife and preferred his sister-in-law (Ego's Mo), with whom intercourse was not taboo, the relations between the two sisters became tense. The incest taboo applied to the relations between Ego and MoSi (as an extension of the incest prohibition between Ego and his Mo) and also MoSiDa (although she did not belong to Mo's inzu). In the latter case, the reason was that for Ego, his maternal parallel cousins were assimilated to his paternal parallel cousins. He had consequently to consider her as his sister. In the next generation this incest taboo still existed (between So and MoSiDaDa, i.e. between any male and his FaMoSiDaDa). The incest between Ego's male descendants and his MoSi's female descendants through females lasted, I was told, as long as the original sibling relation (between Mo and MoSi) was remembered.

Between Ego and his maternal grandfather, the relations were very similar to those between him and his paternal grandfather. As we may expect, the fact that his maternal grandmother did not belong to the maternal patrilineage did not prevent her from being considered as a grandmother and not only as MoFaWi.

As has just been indicated, Ego could enjoy with his female maternal cross-cousins great familiarity expressed in practical jokes, pleasant talk, and erotic games. But as long as the girls were unmarried anything more than caressing and petting (erotic kissing seems to have been unknown among Ruanda) was prohibited. It was only after the female cross-cousins' marriages that sexual intercourse with them was tolerated. This behaviour was extended to wives of male cross-cousins (MoBrSoWi).

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| *Role* | *Term of address* | *Term of reference* |
|---|---|---|
| FaBrDaHu (f.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugabo wacu |
| FaBrSoWi (m.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugore wacu |
| FaSiSoWi (m.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugore wacu |
| FaSiDaHu (f.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugabo wacu |
| MoSiSoWi (m.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugore wacu |
| MoSiDaHu (f.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugabo wacu |
| MoBrDaHu (f.s.) | Name, Nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugabo wacu |
| MoBrSoWi (m.s.) | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugore wacu |
| FaFaBrSoSoWi (m.s.) &c. | Name, nickname or Muvandimwe | Mugore wacu |
| DaHuFa, DaHuMo. SoWiFa, SoWiMo | | Muwana wanjye |
| *IV. The generation of Ego's son.* | | |
| SoWi | Mwana | Mukazanawanjye (female-mine-through-marriage) |
| DaHu | Mwana | Mukwewanjye (. . . male . . .) |
| BrSoWi | Mwana | Mukazanawacu (. . . our) |
| SiSoWi | Mwana | Mukazanawacu (. . . our) |
| BrDaHu | Mwana | Mukwewacu (. . . our) |
| SiDaHu | Mwana | Mukwewacu (. . . our) |
| FaBrSoSoWi | Mwana | Mukazanawacu |
| FaBrSoDaHu &c. | Mwana | Mukwewacu |
| *V. The generation of Ego's grandchildren* | | |
| SoSoWi | Mwana | Mukazanawacu |
| SoDaHu | Mwana | Mukwewacu |
| DaDaHu | Mwana | Mukwewacu |
| DaSoWi | Mwana | Mukazanawacu |
| BrSoSoWi | Mwana | Mukazanawacu |
| SiSoSoWi &c. | Mwana | Mukazanawacu |

603 ● Grandparents by affinity were regarded in the same way as grandparents by consanguinity. Relations with them were symmetrically playful and familiar.

604 The two uncles by affinity (FaSiHu and MoSiHu) were treated with respect because they were older than their nephews and with sympathy in so far as their wives got along well with them. If they did not, the nephews tended to side with their aunts. The ideal behaviour, however, was to act towards the aunts' husband with rather more confidence than towards mere outsiders.

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fifteen were in charge of cattle herds and were absent for several days and nights from the compound. They also hunted with their fathers.

Even before puberty, some socialization processes took place outside of the nuclear or polygamous family. Mythological tales about the material world, the origin of man and animal species, the arrival of the Tutsi in Ruanda, beliefs concerning *Imana*, the spirits of the dead and other beings from the invisible world, the history of the kings of Ruanda, of the military conquests, folk-lore and poems about cattle, and stories of the ancestors and the lineage heroes were transmitted to the younger generation by the grandfather. He was also the main agent of education in the modes of behaviour indicating what was to be done and what was to be avoided in order to gain social approval.

Between puberty and marriage the further education of Tutsi boys took place at the court of a chief or of the king. Hutu stayed in the paternal compound, mastering the different techniques of cultivation and also the attitude and abilities necessary for them to be appreciated by the lord. Sometimes the young man replaced his father in the service of the lord.

What has been said in this section up to now applied equally to each compound of the polygynous family. Children of different wives were not brought up together. In each compound the mother had a role very similar to that of the mother in a nuclear family. There was no head-wife. Usually one was preferred by the husband (*inkundwakazi*, the favourite one), but because of her qualities (obedience, tidiness, beauty, &c.), and not because she was the first married. But the fact that the eldest son of the first wife often succeeded to the father, gave her a particular importance and respect by the others because, after the husband's death, all of them would probably be dependent on her eldest son.

The mutual behaviour of wives and their children has been mentioned before. It may be summarized as: respect to the favourite wife and the first wife, and good 'fraternal' relations between all the wives and the children. This was the ideal behaviour which was often overtly maintained as long as the husband was living. But according to all our informants, the modal and covert behaviour was jealousy and hatred. A polygynous family was often designated by the word *amshali*, whose root *ishyali* means jealousy, and one wife used to refer to another as her *mukeba*, rival. In these

586 855 the child she is still nursing but leaves the older children with their father. Once weaned, the child is sent to live with its father. The paternal grandmother or one of the father's wives will bring it up. If the divorced woman remarries and is again pregnant, she sends [581] the weaned infant to his father with no visible regrets. If she is not pregnant, or if she has occasion to speak of her children by her divorced husband, she will express misgivings, for children are rarely kindly treated by a stepmother. She is also unhappy because she no longer has her daughters to help with the work. Moreover, it is nice to have children in the house so that one will not be lonesome. It happens very often that a woman who has many children will send a two or three-year-old to stay with its grandmother or an aunt who is sterile. Little children are really very much liked.

858 862 593 An *umuzungu*, an outsider, may be somewhat confused by the typical Rundi combination of pragmatic considerations with very tender sentiments. It seems a little paradoxical that Rundikazi love the infants they are nursing but pay no attention to children who have been weaned, except to wait for the day when they are old enough to work. In effect, weaning ends the only period of privilege and pleasure before full maturity. The life of young people is a long 858 night of servitude under the exacting supervision of father and 593 mother. In daily life, children have no importance as persons. The inferiors of their parents, they are treated as inferiors. Excepting in [556] very wealthy families, they do not have enough clothing or blankets against the chill of their mountainous country. Children may go to bed without dinner, if the father and mother have eaten all the food or have simply forgotten about them in the midst of a quarrel or a party. Clever young people, nevertheless, learn how to profit 593 from the conflict of jurisdiction between the father and the mother. Both have the right to order the children to work. If a son disobeys [861] his father, he will be punished by a beating or by being deprived of his dinner. An indulgent mother may very well give food secretly to her unfortunate child. If a boy disobeys his mother but he has worked well for his father—for example, he has taken good care of the cows, but he has refused to go for firewood for his mother—the father will not allow the mother to harm the boy. She will have to wait for revenge on the boy until her husband is away from home. The son, if he is intelligent, will find a way to make her forget her anger. Or, he may take refuge with his paternal aunt or grandparents, who are obliged to offer him asylum against her anger. A young girl cannot go for protection to her father, and she can [603] avoid her mother's punishments only by putting herself under the

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protection of her grandparents. It is best if she is obedient and thus avoid blows and dinnerless nights.

Friendship between a woman and her daughter must wait until the latter is herself a mother. If a married daughter is kind, she will ask her husband for permission to go to help her mother during the busy season. From her married son, a woman expects presents. If he is too poor to give gifts, she will mock and shame him. If he arrives at her home empty-handed, if he comes back from a job in Uganda or the city without something for her, she will be enraged. It means her son does not like her, for he has not given her a present. However, an intelligent woman very early chooses one of her sons as her favourite—usually a different one from the father's favourite. She struggles on his behalf against the other children of her husband, above all against his half-brothers, the sons of his father's other wives. She protects his heritage, she does not remarry even if left a widow very early, she prevents the brothers of her deceased husband from taking possession of her husband's cows or from chasing her and the children off of her husband's property. A widow, particularly among the Tutsi, prefers to remain on the property given her by her husband without remarrying. She is thus finally independent of a husband's authority. To live where her favourite son lives assures her happiness. A good son, it is said, puts the happiness of his mother before that of his wife.

A full analysis of Rundi "Momism" is not possible here. It seems to depend in part on the biological and symbolic importance of food, which the mother gives or refuses at will; in part on the maternal sorcery of sacrificing her own interests for the sake of her sons; in part on the psychological power of which a mother assures herself during her son's infancy by making him very happy when she praises him and causing him great unhappiness and shame when she ridicules him. Children are, in any event, obliged to respect and love their parents, that is to say, to work for them and to obey them.

When a woman is at last a mother-in-law and grandmother, she has reached the high point of her life as a woman. A mother-in-law and her son-in-law, no matter what their caste, address each other as *umufasoni*, noble. Their relationship is one of highly formal respect, politeness of the highest degree, no jokes and no quarrels. A mother-in-law is the uncontested superior of her daughters-in-law. She orders them to work, she must be given respect, she chooses one of them as her favourite—the one who works the most for her, who is most obedient and docile. Towards her grand-

Towards her grand- *Ethel M. Albert*

603 554 children, a grandmother may at last dare to indulge openly in revealing her sentiments, without, however, neglecting practical considerations. Grandparents joke with their grandchildren, spoil them, protect them against their parents' anger, and, if they are [764] not believing Christians, they expect their grandchildren will in due course perform the ceremonies in honour of the *imizimu*, the spirits of dead grandparents.

* * *

577 829 The most direct route to happiness is conformity to the norms and rules of society. Most Rundi have some roles in which they are superior and others in which they are inferior and the accompanying obligations and compensations. A good wife of a generous and reasonable husband, a good mother of numerous and good children, a good mother-in-law of obedient and industrious daughters-in-law and of respectful sons-in-law, will be a happy woman. Unfortunately, it is necessary to take into account the ever-present and infamous "bad characters", the numberless misfortunes sent by *Imana* when he is in a bad humour, the truth that *Imana*—or, if one prefers, Nature, biology, or genetics—does not always pay attention to social norms. Thus, it can happen that a man is not qualified for the role of patriarch, that he suffers all his life the oppression of a nagging shrew. It can happen that a woman is born too weak for manual labour. If she does not find a kind husband who will carry the burden of the work of the household or a rich one who can provide her with workers, she will die very miserable and very young. It can also happen that a woman is more intelligent and more enterprising than her father, her husband, or her son. A woman of this kind is ordinarily encouraged to make use of her gifts—intelligence must not be wasted—but sometimes an energetic woman is tied to a husband who is cruel and stupid and can do nothing with her good-for-nothing sons. In the social life of Burundi, the motto is, everyone for himself. Each must do what he can with whatever *Imana* has given him.

[562] There are many Rundikazi who are unfortunate and wretched—orphans, the daughters of avaricious and cruel fathers, the wives of bad husbands, childless widows, the poor and the sick—in brief, those who do not have the favour of *Imana*. Let us pass in sad silence from their pathetic lot to the more fortunate women, those who have succeeded, despite the inevitable woes of life, in obtaining at least some measure of happiness, and to the true favourites 562 554 of *Imana*, the well-born women who are at maturity true matriarchs. The absolute quantity of power and wealth depends upon birth. A